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the page numbers cited are certainly wrong, and a 'naive' on p. 259 which I think must be an error for 'native'.

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*Legends of Scottish saints: readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary.* Edited by Alan Macquarrie, with Rachel Butter, and contributions by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus. Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2012. lviii + 461 pp. €65. ISBN 978-1-84682-332-9.

A modern, accurate and readable edition of the Scottish sections of the *Aberdeen Breviary* (hereafter *BA*) has long been the single greatest desideratum for the study of hagiography in Scotland, and in this volume Alan Macquarrie has fulfilled that need. *Legends of Scottish saints* presents the Propers of all those saints included in *BA* who could be said to be of specifically Scottish interest, a total of more than ninety. Most of the material consists of lessons which recount episodes of the saint's life and miracles performed by the saint. The Latin text is printed on the left-hand page, with an English translation facing it. Where the text is emended, the original readings are noted below the Latin on each page. The text is presented in the order of the liturgical calendar, beginning with December. Following the text and translation there are notes, arranged alphabetically saint by saint, and two indexes, of proper names and of subjects respectively. An introduction sets the material in *BA* in perspective, and there is a calendar of feast days and an edition of the litany of the saints. The calendar is presented in English only and is somewhat simplified, while the litany is in Latin only. Two appendices give the office of St Andrew and a separate office for the arrival of St Andrew's relics in Scotland; the latter was not a part of *BA* but is found in a separate printed booklet attached to one of the surviving copies of *BA*.

*BA* is, as the editor notes, 'by far our greatest cornucopia of Scottish hagiography' (p. xv). Compiled by Bishop William Elphinstone of Aberdeen, and printed in Edinburgh in 1510, it is an adaptation of the English Sarum breviary in which English local saints have been omitted or downgraded in favour of Scottish ones. Propers for the latter were gathered from all over Scotland, with the result that *BA* may be described as a national collection of saints' legends. Some of the names here are known internationally: Columba, Kentigern, Cuthbert, Adomnán, (Queen) Margaret. Others, though, belong to saints who are strictly local: Kessog of Luss beside Loch Lomond, for instance, or Devenick of Banchory Devenick in Aberdeenshire, or Conval of Inchinnan near the Clyde. Many of these local saints have no hagiography beyond what is found in *BA*. Without a doubt, then, *BA* is the most important survey of Scottish saints' cults made before the era of modern scholarship, and the single most comprehensive written source for Scotland's saints. Yet gaining access to *BA* was until recently no simple task. Of the original printed book of 1510, a bare handful of copies and fragments of copies survive, scattered in various places. They are replete with misprints

and the Latin is, in the medieval fashion, heavily abbreviated. A very handsome facsimile edition was produced by William Blew in 1854, but that itself is a rare treasure, and one that is far from easy to use, for it contains only the original Latin text, without translation or apparatus, and furthermore incorporates many corrections made by Blew, not all of which are acceptable. There has been some piecemeal editing and translating of the material in *BA* concerning individual saints, some of these publications being early fruits of Macquarrie's own work. Yet in order to read the bulk of the material, scholars have been compelled to grapple with 'a medieval book', in Macquarrie's phrase (p. xviii).

This situation has now been transformed. Digital images of the copies of *BA* in the National Library of Scotland are now freely available online (<http://digital.nls.uk/7448740>), while Blew's facsimile can be found on [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org). It should be noted that the copy of *BA* described by Macquarrie (p. xvii) as being at Glamis Castle has in the interim passed to the National Library of Scotland and can be viewed at the above link alongside the rest of the Library's holdings. Thus the original printed book, and the 19th-century facsimile, can now be studied by anyone with an internet connection. However, none of this detracts from the value of Macquarrie's new edition. *Legends of Scottish saints* for the first time places a critically edited text, translation and commentary in the hands of those who wish to study the specifically Scottish sections of *BA* – all essential things if the full value of *BA* is to be realized. We have indeed gone from famine to feast.

The introduction to *Legends of Scottish saints* is relatively short, about thirty pages in all. It covers the surviving texts of *BA*, together with an outline of its printing history, a discussion of Blew's facsimile, a brief introduction to the Divine Office, a discussion of sources, and finally some remarks on the Latinity of *BA* and the method of editing. It includes also a useful section on the difficulties of studying saints' cults, particularly those with a Gaelic linguistic and cultural background, contributed by Rachel Butter. More could, perhaps, have been said about the purpose and reception of *BA*. It does indeed, in Macquarrie's phrase, achieve 'the task of giving Scotland a large-scale national hagiography' (p. xxvi), but it is specifically a liturgical hagiography. *BA* is not a collection of full Lives of the saints, but rather of generally short lessons and prayers for liturgical use. If it was intended that *BA* should supplant whatever uses were practised in Scotland before 1510, it would be interesting to know whether there is any evidence that it succeeded. Another intricate problem is the sources of *BA*. Many of the readings can be traced back to extant saints' Lives or to Bede, but were they created directly from these sources by the compilers of *BA*, or were they instead drawn from existing liturgy which itself had been based on such texts? The question is important, for it affects whether we think that all of the saints in *BA* were the subjects of living cult in Scottish churches in the early 16th century, or whether we suspect that Elphinstone and his assistants were trying to revive, or create, interest in certain forgotten figures with Scottish credentials. I am not arguing at all for the latter, but some of the wording in the introduction seems to imply that the compilers of *BA* drew on the original texts rather than existing liturgical readings, and if that is the editor's belief, then it has implications which need to be addressed.

It must be admitted that the printed text of 1510 is full of errors. These include misprints, omission of words and even whole phrases, words out of order and misinterpretations of manuscript abbreviations. Some of these were corrected in Blew's facsimile edition, but many were not, and furthermore Blew introduced fresh errors of his own. Macquarrie was thus forced to make many emendations to his edition. The original readings, and those of Blew for comparison, are noted at the bottom of each page of the Latin text. In many cases Macquarrie has succeeded in making sense of the garbled original, no mean feat at times. In other places, however, it may be argued that he has gone too far. One habit which is to be regretted is the emendation of the text to bring it into conformity with the putative sources of *BA*. This may be justifiable where *BA* is garbled, grammatically incorrect or incomprehensible, but not where a word is simply omitted without damaging the sense. For instance, in the sixth lesson for St Kentigern, we read *qui per reuelacionem [diuinam] acceperat quod in presencia sancti Kentigerni migraret a seculo* (p. 32). *diuinam* is not in *BA*; it is supplied by Macquarrie on the basis of Jocelin of Furness's *Life of St Kentigern*, which in the equivalent passage has *divino edoctus oraculo*. In the first lesson for St Patrick, the name of Patrick's father has been emended from *calphurno* to *Calphurnio*, following Blew (p. 88). But the multifarious changes which this name underwent in the Patrician dossier are a significant part of the history of the dossier, and the spelling without *i* – one that is widely attested elsewhere – might be of relevance for future source criticism. It should have been left as it was, to be discussed in the notes if so desired. In other places, the editor has tried to make the text more comprehensible where there is no need to do so. In the first lesson for St Conval (p. 238), *nonnulla taxare curabimus* 'we will endeavour to touch on some things' has been unnecessarily emended to *nonnulla [miracula] taxare curabimus*, even though the context makes it obvious that the 'things' to be related will be miracles. In the second reading for St Colmoc (p. 124), we find an anecdote set in the saint's youth, *dum illius [iuuenilis] etatis perageret dies*, where *iuuenilis* is an addition by the editor. It is an unnecessary addition, since *illius etatis* 'of that age' recalls the last words of the previous lesson, *ab annis infancie doctus et tenerrime educatus fuit*. The author of these lessons clearly thought that his audience was capable of remembering the wording of the first lesson while listening to the second. That fact is of interest, and should not be obscured in this way. In other places, the text has been emended to correct supposed grammatical errors which are not there. An example is, again, under St Conval, lesson five (p. 240), where *Ydropicus equidem necnon uermibus ferme consumptus ... restituuntur* has been emended to *Ydropicus, necnon [et quidam] uermibus ferme consumptus ... restituuntur*, the editor arguing that the subject needs to be plural in order to account for the plural verb. This is true, but the subject is already plural. The wording in *BA* allows for *ydropicus* and *consumptus* to refer to different individuals: 'a man with dropsy, and also one almost completely eaten up by worms'. It did not need to be changed. In the subsequent lesson, the word *qui* is superfluously inserted: *Eciam quicunque mala habentes, aut egroti [qui] quacunque detinebantur infirmitate, suis iustis desideriis minime defrudebantur*. Only a comma was

required here: the sentence may be translated, 'Also anyone feeling ill, or the sick, by whatever illness they were afflicted, were not disappointed in their just desires.' Furthermore, *mala* here is an unnecessary emendation of *male*; the phrase *male habere* 'to feel/be ill' is well attested. In the first reading for St Fillan (p. 24), *in tantum contemptui dabatur* is grammatical and did not need to be emended to *in tantum contemptum dabatur*. In lesson seven for the same saint, we find the sentence *illos quosque in Christum credentes reperit, ut suos carissimos et speciales amicos in caritate Dei et dilectione tractauerit*. The last word is emended from *tractauit*, but *BA*'s reading should have been left to stand. The meaning is 'all those whom he found believing in Christ, he treated as his own very dear and special friends in the love of God and in friendship.' *ut* here is not introducing a final or consecutive clause, but is the equivalent of English 'as' or 'like' in a comparison. A more serious instance occurs under St Munnu, since it makes a material difference to the meaning (p. 248; also discussed in the introduction, p. xxxvi). Referring to the saint's visit to St Columba in Iona, the third lesson in *BA* says, *ad Yonam insulam in Scotia peruenit, in qua a beato Columba habitum suscepit religionis*. The fourth lesson continues the story: *Sed beato Columba de mundo translato ad patriam, sanctus Mundus Yberniam denuo quesiiuit*. Following the plain meaning of these words, Munnu went to Iona, received the monastic habit from Columba, and then left the island on Columba's death. The editor rejects this reading on the grounds that it is incompatible with the testimony of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* (i.2), according to which Munnu found that Columba had died before he reached Iona, and therefore could not have been vested in the monastic habit by him. Macquarrie accordingly emends *suscepit* to *susceperit*, translating 'where he might receive'. The emendation is grammatically unacceptable; it should be *susciperet*. But in any event, that is not what the text says. Most likely the author of the lessons, or an earlier source from which they were drawn, altered Adomnán's account in order to strengthen the bond between his saint and the great Columba. This is a hagiographical manoeuvre of a familiar enough kind. The emendations in *Legends of Scottish saints* betray a degree of uncertainty as to what the editor wishes to present to us: is it the text of *BA*, or the text as it should have been if the compilers and printers had been more competent or had had access to superior sources? At least, where Macquarrie has added a whole word, the change is signalled with brackets in the English translation as well, but where he has merely emended a word, the intervention is visible only in the Latin text and apparatus, which, it is to be feared, many users of the book will ignore.

Notwithstanding such minor problems, the translation is generally accurate and reliable, and provides a firm basis for future study. This is true also of the notes on individual saints. These occupy a little over a hundred pages (pp. 318–423). They are dense and detailed, being in a smaller font than the text and translation. Contributions made to the notes by Rachel Butter and Simon Taylor are acknowledged. Most of the notes are divided under three subheadings: 'office' covers the material in *BA* itself, 'cult' details the saint's presence in the Scottish scene, and 'origins' addresses the historical individual upon whom the cult is based. It is not always easy to discern a clear boundary between what is

discussed under 'cult' and what is assigned to 'origins', especially as the latter section tends to be used to discuss non-Scottish evidence such as the Irish martyrologies or Bede. Since very many of the saints in *BA* have an Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Breton or Welsh cult in addition to their Scottish one, the arrangement has the advantage of clearly demarcating the body of specifically Scottish evidence for these saints. It does, however, assign material to 'origins' which an Irish scholar or an Anglo-Saxonist would reasonably take to be 'cult'. Indeed, given the general direction of hagiographical scholarship in recent years, the decision to discuss 'origins' at all might be seen as brave. Even such basics as the etymology of a saint's name cannot be taken as foundational, for names are mediated to us through documents that are the product of 'cult', and can suffer change, reinterpretation and downright replacement over time and through passage from one language to another. On this point, it is noteworthy that Thomas Clancy's theory on the origin of St Ninian as a derivative of St Uinniau receives no discussion here, though Macquarrie does acknowledge a mingling of Ninian's traditions with those of Uinniau, and the relevant article is cited (p. 404 and *ibid.* n. 90). Fortunately Rachel Butter draws attention to the theory, though without endorsing it, in her contribution (p. xxiv), yet it would have been preferable to see at least an acknowledgement of the suggestion in the note on Ninian proper.

The notes are generally very useful, especially for their lists of Scottish church and cult sites and for the evidence that they draw from calendars and antiquarian writings. Macquarrie gives Ordnance Survey grid references for all the Scottish sites except for the most obvious ones, a custom which is very helpful and which should be drilled into anyone who discusses medieval saints' cults. The notes function, in effect, as a dictionary of Scottish saints to match Pádraig Ó Riain's recent and fundamental *Dictionary of Irish saints*. Macquarrie, of course, has fewer saints to deal with and a smaller body of documentation, but 'smaller' does not mean 'small', and this is an impressive piece of work. Alan Macquarrie has now done for Scotland what Pádraig Ó Riain did for Ireland, and we should be grateful to him for it. Likewise the bibliography at the end of the volume is a comprehensive listing of scholarship on Scottish saints' cults to c. 2010.

*Legends of the Scottish saints* is a valuable contribution to the study of hagiography in Scotland. It is clearly the repository of a lifetime's research into the subject. The cover, print and layout are of the fine quality which we expect from Four Courts. The book can be recommended as the first port of call for anyone interested in the cult of a particular saint who has a Scottish dimension. With the appearance of this book, together with the launch of two fine electronic resources in the form of the Survey of Dedications to Saints in Medieval Scotland (<http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/>) and the Saints in Scottish Place-names website (<http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/>), there is no doubt that Scottish hagiographical scholarship has surged ahead in recent years. This is testimony to the number of gifted and committed scholars who have made contributions to the field, among them Alan Macquarrie.

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